1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
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SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

The Gros Ventre system of terms of relationship has been given in a former publication.[1]

Cousins, so far as the relationship was known, were called brothers and sisters, and they called each other's children son or daughter if the cousin was of the same sex as the speaker, or nephew or niece if the cousin was of the opposite sex. Any known relationship was a bar to marriage. The brother of a dead man sometimes married his widow, but this was not always the case.

Large amounts of property, especially horses, were given away for wives for the honor of the act, but there was no rule or definite custom covering the quantity of property so given. The horses might be given not only to the father, but to the brothers, uncles, and other relatives of the girl. Sometimes, without having received any gifts and apparently without any previous understanding, a man would give his daughter to a young man, who thereupon would give him horses, or distribute them among his wife's other relatives. Old men practised this custom in order to obtain the aid and services of a young man in caring for their horses and in other ways, and no doubt sometimes also to insure a more certain food-supply. A young man on marrying received a tent with all the proper furniture, usually from his prospective parents-in-law, but sometimes from his own parents, if they were the wealthier.

Although a young married man often lived with his father-in-law, the well-known taboo custom between mother-in-law and son-in-law — which forbade their speaking, looking at each other, or being in the same tent — existed among the Gros Ventre. There was, however, no father-in-law taboo. The mother-in-law taboo extended to the son-in-law's brother.

If a woman did not wish a man for her lover, she might send him to do a certain act of bravery. If he returned successfully from war, having accomplished the deed, he was then accepted. This custom is said to have led to the death of many young men.

At a person's death his property was inherited generally by his relatives. His father and mother, brothers, sisters, and children would receive part. His father and mother received the most. A man often disposed of his property before his death. If he died suddenly, as on being killed in war, his parents divided his property. It was not customary for a man on going to war to divide his property among his relatives in the contingency of his death. Property particularly valued by the dead person was buried with him.

[1] Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, pp. 9, 180.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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426 231 The lending of horses, especially in an emergency, was not uncommon especially among relatives. The owner however retained full rights and could dictate to the borrower the use to which the horse might be put. "One time, for instance," according to Singer whose husband Iron Bucket was an eye-witness, 231 "there were four lodges or families of Gros Ventres who 426 happened to be traveling along separated from the larger group. 734 Bear Nose's mother was taking care of a young man who was exceedingly ill. She didn't own the horse which was drawing the travois upon which the young man was lying. As the party climbed a steep hill the lines tying the travois to the horse broke and the travois dropped to the ground. The woman who owned the horse was already at the top and called down: 'Just leave him. Just leave him. You are always hauling him around with my horse.' The others told this woman owner: 'Let us pack him once more and wherever we stop we will make a sweatbath house for him and leave him in there and leave food for him.' But the owner didn't want it that way. The others told her again: 'Just pack him once more. You should think of the time when he was a Scout [at Ft. Assiniboine] and he used to get a lot of grub for you [with his pay].' But she said: 'No. I won't be packing him any more.' He was pretty far gone—his body already covered with flies—but the one who had been caring for him finally was forced to abandon him there with his few belongings and without any shelter or anything else. When they left him he had a sheet over his head and he started to cry. But the owner of the horse was adamant. The others of the party could argue with her, but could take no further action. They moved quite a distance and that very night a terrible storm came up and probably finished the young man. The woman who had been caring for him died shortly thereafter, and the others thought this was a consequence of their having abandoned him so callously, but they all said: 'It should have been the owner of the horse who died instead of the one who cared for him."

231 721 Because the real competition among the northern plains tribes was for horses, it was not uncommon that a relatively well-to-do family might lose their entire pack of horses through a single raid by the enemy. The following experience of Coming Daylight illustrates the point.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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"The Gros Ventres moved camp again to new grounds across the Missouri. They were camped on a bluff overlooking the River, and there was a nice valley full of hay behind them. Her grandmother suggested that their family tie all their horses down in that nice valley. The men in the group had, however, obtained whiskey and a lot of them were drunk—even her uncle—and after they camped they kept on 'celebrating.' That night she was feeling very sick as it was almost time for her first child to be born. She couldn't sleep and would go out and sit leaning back against another lodge. While she was sitting there it was very dark, but she thought she saw two figures on horseback moving along the edge of the bluff, very, very, slowly, as though they were sneaking. So she went to her lodge and awakened her husband and told him she had seen strange men around. Of course it was very dark and she couldn't describe them so her husband didn't get excited and said: 'Oh, it is just some of our people.' She was still uneasy, however, and returned a couple of more times and told her husband what she had seen, but he didn't believe her nor pay any attention. A little later as she was lying fully dressed in her lodge, very uncomfortable—raising up, lying down, raising up again—not sleeping, she heard leaves rattling as someone walked slowly from the brush towards her lodge. Her uncle called her by name. She recognized his voice. He told her: 'All our horses are gone!' He had sobered up and had gone to see where the horses were. She just felt sick over it. They had lost all their beautiful horses.

"She was so mad at her husband, because he had been stubborn and hadn't given chase to the enemy, that she went out and walked and walked. She doesn't know how far she traveled in the dim moonlight when she heard a horse neighing and, since everyone knows his own horses when he hears them, she realized that it was the light buckskin horse, her husband's principal horse for hunting buffalo and for war. It was his best horse. She went in the direction she heard the neighing and the horse came towards her. It was all wet and had a short rope around its neck. She caught the horse and supposed that the enemy must have taken the stolen horses across the river and that this one must have been doing something that made them cut it loose. As she was leading the horse back to camp she saw something white lying there. She

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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231 721 got scared and ran to the other side of the horse. Finally she took a big stick and threw it at the white thing and still it didn't move so she went closer and found it to be a Hudson's Bay blanket just soaking wet. The enemy must have used it when they crossed the river. So she dragged it home to her lodge. When she got there she called to her grandmother: 'Is he there?' Her grandmother said: 'He is.' She was still furious at her husband and called to him: 'Come out! I am giving you this,' and she said it in the way people speak when they are giving something on return from war. She was giving her husband his own buffalo horse! He however didn't say anything or make any exclamation. This so enraged her that she took the blanket and rolled it up as small as she could and threw it at him, hitting him on the chest saying: 'Here is another thing I brought you!' Then he laughed. But she had at least saved one of the most valuable horses.

[431] "The next morning the rest of the Gros Ventres in the party moved on, leaving this family behind. But fortunately some others came along and seeing their plight gave them horses, for example, Pemmican gave one to Coming Daylight, Little Shields gave her uncle one, and Sleeping Bear gave her husband one."

231 436 The importance of various transactions could be gauged by whether or not a horse were included, other things such as fancy clothing, ornaments, guns, etc. being mentioned as "thrown in."

[554] A person who gave a horse in whatever connection accrued prestige for himself and at the same time showed in what esteem the donor

[583] held the recipient. Horses were generally included in the bride price; in inaugurating the more serious type of enemy-friendship; in payment for services of the medicine man in curing certain types of illness, and in payment to the ceremonial grandfather as well as in payment to the namer or ear-piercer of a child; in settling disputes; in gambling; in gifts to others in honor of relatives, and in meeting certain other kinship obligations.

231 556 Horses could be acquired by a man through raiding the enemy; by gift from relatives and from non-relatives in honor of someone else or in instituting the enemy-friendship; in the bride price of a sister, daughter, or maternal niece; in payment for services rendered; in gambling; through inheritance; in trading with the whites. A woman might share in the bride price of her brother's

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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CHAPTER V

WAR AND PRESTIGE

Organization and Conduct of the Party

721 554 Recognition was granted for any accomplishment that involved risk of life at the hands of the enemy. The constantly recurring attacks upon the Gros Ventres by one neighboring tribe or another offered many opportunities for the display of bravery, but those who joined in taking the initiative against the enemy had the greatest chances of accumulating impressive war records. Consequently parties set out at frequent intervals with the avowed purpose either of stealing horses or of avenging loss of Gros Ventre life.

721 Although it was not uncommon for two or three men to go off quietly together when raiding for horses, if a larger number was involved, some formalities were observed. The man who decided to lead a war party had his intention publicly announced around the camp circle by a crier and any who wished might volunteer to join him. A young man, untried in war, would hardly set himself up as leader in this way, but would be anxious to follow someone whose reputation for bravery was already well established.[1]

533 721 [782] Ordinarily, when the group was composed of ten or more men, there were some preliminaries the night before the party set off. The members gathered and sang in front of lodges of those they hoped would be able to help them. Each man so selected at least prayed for the success of the party as he gave them a smoke and fed them. In addition, if he had ammunition or clothing or something of the kind that would be useful on the expedition, he donated these to the party. It was said that an occasional man would "be so pleased with what the party was about to do" that he sent his wife out to sing with them. Thus the party sang around the camp circle in front of various lodges and, after agreeing on

[1] Sometimes young men were restless and sang around the camp circle to indicate their willingness to go on a raid if someone would lead them. Such a song was recorded as No. 70.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

what time they should meet the next morning to start off, they dispersed.

Before leaving camp the next day, the party again sang in front of the lodges which they had approached the night before. This same tune was also sung while the party was en route, words being composed to suit various occasions. This tune was known as the "men's song" and was said to have been given to the Gros Ventres by Nihiatu, the culture-hero. Other songs were also sung while the party was away from camp as, for example, on the first night out when they lamented their absence from friends and loved ones.

Various duties were assigned by the leader, and all, but especially the youngest members of the party, were expected to do their part. If a young fellow were "lazy" on a raiding expedition, the leader would see to it that he was punished. An accepted way of accomplishing this end was on the sly to substitute strips of rawhide for the usual strips of meat in the container used by the young man. When the party started to eat, all would watch this particular young man and, as he pulled out the rawhide, they would laugh at him. It was said that young men in this predicament would be so humiliated that they would actually cry. It was a serious matter at the time, and also offered good material to be used later by potential enemy-friends who might have witnessed this embarrassing situation.

Along this line, it is interesting to note the detailed procedure of one man, which may or may not be typical of the behavior of leaders in disciplining members of their party. "This particular leader, known as Eater, a contemporary of Running Bear, was highly respected and feared because it was known that when he led a war party he expected the other members to live up to the high standard he set by his own actions. If, however, he found that someone in the party was not doing his duty, in the evening he would start singing a song which he had acquired through a dream. All the young men would be apprehensive, wondering which of them was to be humiliated. The others would take up the song while Eater alone would dance, imitating a wolf by placing one hand on the forehead and the other behind him to represent the tail. He would circle around, dancing in this manner, until he came to the victim. Whereupon he would stop in front of the

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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605 593 Reservation. She heard the car drive up and, without thinking how it might be interpreted by the other two women, exclaimed: 'Oh, there is my man! I must go!' Since in that neighborhood 'my man' is commonly used to indicate husband or lover, Mary laughed. Almost immediately, however, she caught herself and straightened her face, remarking: 'I shouldn't have even thought that or laughed like I did. That man is my cousin and I should be ashamed of him.' Furthermore when Mary went out with her to get in the car, Charles insisted that Mary sit in the back seat so that everybody could see that they rode in the same car only to accommodate the white woman. Mary remarked later on: 'It is funny, but I just can't bring myself to sit down and have a conversation with my men-relatives, like white brothers and sisters do. I still have a feeling it is an awful thing to talk to my brothers, male cousins, father-in-law and Indian sons-in-law,—although I don't mind in the least talking to my white son-in-law.'"

Brother and sister were expected to grant each other's requests whenever it was in their power to do so and without complaint, regardless of the inconvenience which might be involved. The following incident illustrates how sensitive the Gros Ventres were on this point. "When the present Mrs. Takes-the-Bow was a small girl, she often was sick. One time her father's sister came into the lodge and muttered to herself: 'Oh you are just using up all my medicine in doctoring you—what is wrong with you!' Unfortunately the child's father overheard this impatient comment and was deeply hurt, because very seldom would a woman say anything like that in front of her brother. So he decided: 'My sister considers me a lot of trouble, and if that is the way she feels about it I shall never request her services again.' He meant exactly what he said. He left immediately to go on a war party. Careless of his life, he recklessly rode into the midst of the enemy and was killed."

593 782 721 One way of showing how much a woman thought of her brother was for her to make offerings in his behalf. When young men were going off on a war party, the sister of one of them might go outside the lodge and make a promise along the following lines: "I will give my finger as offering if my brother will come back a great warrior." It was considered a great honor, of course, to

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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have someone come back a real hero, and, although such a promise to torture oneself could be made in regard to other relatives, "it was usually a sister who thought so much of her brother who did that." Other forms of sacrifice which a girl might practice on her brother's behalf would be to take a fine robe, or something else of value, and stick it on top of the lodge saying: "I offer this that my brother may come back with good luck, bringing something fine from war." This could be even more specific in that a girl could offer, say, the tip of her finger, if her brother would bring back a particular thing, such as a scalp or a horse or a weapon. Again, should her brother be ill or wounded, a woman would be exceedingly concerned and might go so far, as in one case recorded, of promising that if he should recover she would join the Women's Lodge—"which was considered a great thing to do for your brother."

Usually a man would have some voice in regard to his sister's marriage and, if he were the one who made the arrangements, he received the larger share of the bride-price. It was said, too, that a brother would be especially concerned regarding his younger sister's moral conduct and might take it upon himself to keep her in line. Although parents would feel the disgrace of an erring daughter, a brother was expected to react violently. If her husband failed to punish his wife for adultery, her brother could kill her. Some instances were given, too, in which the man took his own life indirectly, by riding into the midst of the enemy without taking any precautions, because he felt so keenly the dishonor his sister who was unfaithful had imposed on him.

Maternal Uncle and Paternal Aunt

"Because a brother and a sister thought so much of each other, they were expected to be good to each other's children." If a woman had several brothers, it was the eldest who assumed the duties of the maternal uncle and his relationship with his nephews was a direct one. Should the eldest brother be unable to undertake the responsibility another brother or male cousin was expected to do so.

The maternal uncle was supposed to watch his sister's children closely even though her husband was on the scene. If he did not

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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PLATES

142 The original photograph of Plate 1 was taken in 1887 and
291 belongs to The Boy. Shown in it are Lame Bull, The Boy's
301 father, and Crow Bull, maternal uncle of Coming Daylight. Both
302 of these men were born around 1825 and their personal experiences were often referred to by our informants as we took down the record of the old way of life. Each had been Keeper of the sacred Flat Pipe.

115 The photographs composing Plate 2, except for the one of The
133 Boy, were taken in 1940 by Dr. Karl F. Herzfeld. The first three
147 show the nature of the country around Hays on the Fort Belknap
291 Reservation; the other three show some of our informants and
292 interpreters whose biographical sketches follow.

531 In Plate 3, the shield and war medicines of Bull Lodge, father
797 of our informant, Garter Snake, represent only a few of the specimens of Gros Ventre culture collected in 1937 by Mr.
798 Richard Pohrt, of Flint, Michigan.
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2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
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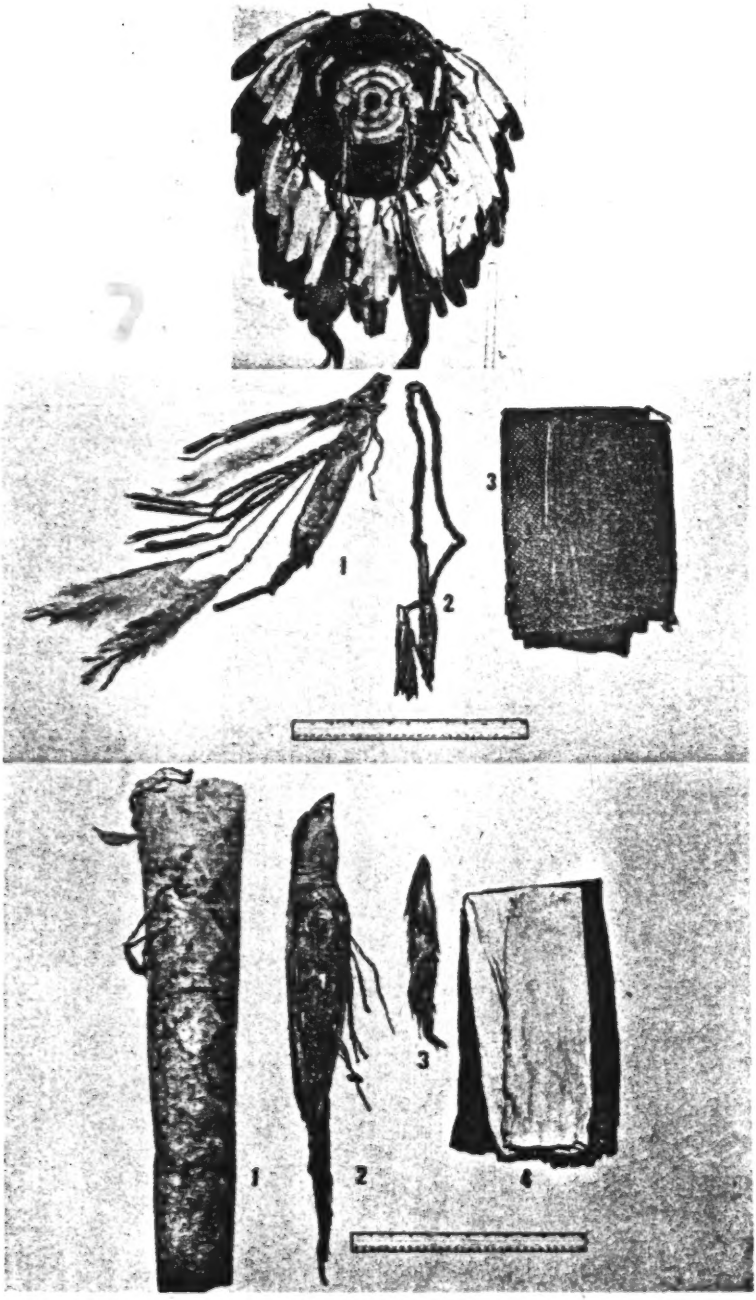

PLATE III

SHIELD AND WAR MEDICINES MADE AND USED BY BULL LODGE

[p. 212(C)]

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

776 He was the "master of life" as previously mentioned. Long life was the result of something more than conformity to "health rules," such as daily morning cold baths to harden the body.[9] "The Supreme Being allows people to live long. If he wanted, he cut off their lives." "When people die, it is the Supreme Being who cuts off their lives." "Very old people lived a long life because they were pitied by the Supreme Being." The Boy's father, Lame Bull, said that "a man lives, not his own life, but according to what is given him and wished by Ixtcibani:hahat. A man has what he has by the wish of the One Above."

776 888 The Gros Ventres understood by that that the aged had survived to old age not by accident, but by the permission and wish of the Supreme Being. It was common for young men to approach in tears a very old man or woman, offer a pipe, and request him or her to ask the Supreme Being to grant him long life, to make him a good warrior who would be immune to arrows or bullets when he was shot at.[10]

776 721 782 [755] In grave illness the Supreme Being would be appealed to to spare the sick person's life. It was a common belief that the Supreme Being would not permit a large attacking force of enemies to slaughter a smaller number at home in its own camp. When a group of young Gros Ventre recruits was leaving for World War II, the Supreme Being was prayed to in an old song that he would watch over them and let them come back home unharmed; although there were some casualties among Gros Ventre soldiers in World War II, not one of the above particular group was even wounded.

776 [171] The Supreme Being as the one who "owns everything" was the provider of food. He was not called "master of food," as was common among the northeastern Algonquians,[11] living closer than the Gros Ventres to a scarcity economy; food, it was felt, was "too little" a thing, and the title undignified. But all good things to eat, including "wild" food such as berries, fruits, roots and tubers, came from the Supreme Being and were given by him.

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[9] Cf. Flannery, 1953, p. 144.
[10] Cf. Flannery, 1953, pp. 195-96.
[11] Cooper, 1934, p. 71.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

power from the "ghost men" by sleeping near their pictographs, but never with any success. One young man, however, once without quest got power in childbirth cases from a boss of little children who appear to him in a dream, and Singer thought these "little children" were "ghost men," but the identification is doubtful. The only message they ever got from the "ghost men" was a request or demand that the Gros Ventres go away at once as they smelt bad or made the place smell bad. On war parties or other occasions, offerings were made at the pictograph cliff to the "ghost men," who would then during the night make new pictographs on the morrow from which the future in the form of good or bad fortune could be easily foreseen by the members of the party.[20]

Supernatural power was gotten either by quest or otherwise from ghosts or, as more commonly, from non-human beings, such as mountains (or the spirit who inhabited or owned the mountains), rocks, mammals (bear, wolf, weasel, mink, coyote, rat, prairie dog and others), birds (crow, prairie chicken), snakes, spiders and so forth. "These lesser beings, while ranking a little above human beings and possessing certain superhuman powers, were under the leadership and control of the Supreme Being, from whom they had received such powers to be imparted in turn to human beings. Like Bha'a, they were, so to speak, delegated agents and underlings of the Supreme Being, put by him in charge of "the details of the whole situation," as The Boy expressed it. The powers so imparted were of many kinds, to cure, to poison or otherwise harm, to foretell, to become a great warrior, to acquire wealth, to succeed in love and gambling, et cetera, as will be described in detail later.

Non-Cult Beings

So much for the beings to whom cult was rendered in the form of prayer or sacrifice. We shall now describe the supernatural beings,—human, "humanoid" and non-human,—to whom no cult was rendered but who entered in one form or other into ritual

[20] Cf. Flannery, 1953, p. 93.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

*796 afterwards according to the Ni:hohat story or after the great deluge according to the flood story.

Ritual sweating and use of the sweat-lodge, tsë:bätc, were resorted to by the Gros Ventres on many occasions not connected with the sacred pipe rites,—skin and finger-joint sacrifices, war expeditions, and dreamed-of impending evils. Sweating in such cases will be dealt with in the proper places, as also sweating at the Feathered Pipe rites and Sacred lodges. The sweat-lodge rite was obligatory at the following Flat Pipe ceremonies: the three seasonal rites, the transfer rite (previously described), rites in fulfillment of a vow to smoke the Pipe or to paint its bowl, or to make a sweat-lodge for the keeper or for the Pipe, and at the disposal of offerings to the Pipe.

726 *796 Before a war party started out, among other ceremonial observances a sweat-lodge rite was commonly gone through. A Flat Pipe Keeper might on such an occasion take pity on the leader and members of the departing war party, build his own 31-stick sweat-lodge, and go through the sweating rite. If, furthermore, the keeper accompanied the war party, he might do the same from time to time during the course of the expedition.

*796 For the present we shall confine our attention chiefly to the sweat-lodge as used in the three seasonal rites, dealing first with the sweat-lodge itself, and after that with the sweating rite. We merely reiterate in passing that the sweating rite, while obligatory in a seasonal rite, was somewhat distinct from the ceremonial which followed it and which was carried out in the keeper's lodge.

346 *796 The Flat Pipe sweat-lodge was constructed as follows. In ground plan it was more or less circular about 7 to 9 feet in diameter, with two openings, the main larger entrance at the east and the smaller exit opening at the west. The general form was nearly semi-spherical. On each side, the northern and southern, 15 willows were stuck in the ground. The number 30 may represent a multiple of the sacred number three, and one of our informants conjectured, with particular reference to the 30 poles of lodge where He-who-starved-to-death slept fasting on the 30 successive nights. These 30 willows were arched over and woven fast into a ridge willow that ran the east-west axis of the structure. Thus the sweat-lodge was constructed of 31 willows in all.

after good in Gros Ventre competitive life. Most types of power,—and not only power to acquire wealth directly,—brought material rewards. War raids had largely the purpose of acquiring horses, the main Gros Ventre wealth in earlier days, from the enemy.* Doctoring brought the practitioner large emoluments; gambling power netted the owner rich winnings. Love power, in addition to securing sex favors for its possessor, could also be a source of good profit through transfer by sale to others. Wealth among the Gros Ventres gave prestige on its own account as well as material ease and security. Further, wealth was inextricably tied up with prestige as goals sought through military, medicinal, gambling and love powers.

These were the chief advantages and profit or power which the individual had to weight against the disadvantages and cost thereof.

Many individuals, in view of the cost, neither sought nor accepted power, as we have seen.

Many others, however, men and women and even some young boys and girls, sought or accepted power, and such power was by no means confined to professional medicine men but was widely distributed among the laity. A few, but very few, children had power: the several cases recorded will be given later. But many women as well as men acquired it; what exact proportion of whole adult population is hard to say. The Boy, Thick concurring, stated: "Only a few men and women had ancestral helpers, but it was the usual thing for grownups, men and women, to have some kind of power." On another occasion, they said: "Not everyone tried to get power [by fasting on mountains] but only certain individuals. For instance, of three men only one might try, the other two might not care to try." On still another occasion, The Boy remarked: "Not all who slept on mountains got power. Lots got nothing; they didn't even dream. Only a few got power from such a quest. Some tried over and over again but never got anything. A man might spend five to seven days on the mountains and yet not even dream. If, say 30 or 40 slept on the mountains, only three or four of them might get power. Only a few Gros

*For discussion of Gros Ventres concept of wealth, see Flannery, 1953, pp. 73-79.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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778 'Wife, I transfer this power to you. You go and doctor this time. I don't feel like doctoring today.' But before this she would have 426 always accompanied him in his curing practice and knew exactly what to do and sing." Such a "transfer" was purely an *ad hoc* delegation, not a surrender of his power.

Power could be completely lost by the owner either during his lifetime or at death. During the owner's lifetime it could be lost by persistent disuse, by complete and final transfer through sale or gift, by "using it up," and as a result of breach of the rules. Where, for instance, a man had power to cure only a limited number of people, say four, with the conclusion of his fourth cure, the power was "used up" and so ceased. A certain Gros Ventre who had power to cause rain and storms made much use of it in a battle with the Crow but finally used it up and was killed by them.

If a person with power had not transferred it, on his deathbed the power embodied in or associated with some material object or living thing within him would come out of him, usually out of his mouth, and so his power would die with him. Even though the root or medicine he had used but had not transferred was known to others, they would not be allowed after his death to use it in curing. Thus lots of good medicines were not used, even though they were known to be efficacious.

Use of Powers

778 We now come to rites and procedures followed in the exercise of powers for war, gambling, love and various miscellaneous purposes, including legerdemain. A consideration of the use of the very important doctoring power is reserved for separate treatment in a subsequent chapter.

The great majority of those who went out in quest of power sought power to be great warriors and to become wealthy. The two aims were ordinarily closely related. A major goal of most [721 war parties was the acquisition of horses,—the chief wealth of 556] the Gros Ventres in the old days. Both success in war and possession of wealth brought prestige, and such prestige in the individualistic competitive culture of the Gros Ventre was eagerly sought after.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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War power usually included both a positive aspect, outstanding success in killing, wounding and capturing enemies and in taking booty, especially horses, and a negative one, luck in escaping injury. Little Man's brother had power to make his horse run so fast in war that no other horse could overtake it. 778 721

Those who sought wealth power asked mostly to have many horses, not to be poor, and "to get things easy without much effort." 778 556 787

"My grandmother's brother," Coming Daylight related, "the first Crow Bull went to McCann Butte in the Bear Paws to sleep. The people were camped at the bottom near the lake, and from an opening in the mountains on the other side of the lake they saw a lot of white horses come to the lake. Crow Bull was told in his dream: 'These are all your horses.' It is claimed that everybody else saw them too. After that Crow Bull always had white horses. People gave him white horses and he brought white horses home from war."

Cora Chandler had heard a similar story about Bear Nose who slept at the same spot. He saw (in a dream, probably) a lot of prairie dogs and was told: "These are your horses." Cora commented: "I knew the day when Bear Nose had only buckskin horses,"—of the color of prairie dogs.

On both the preceding cases, the two men who got power only to own all these horses, although, Cora thought, Bear Nose also had lots of other powers.

As regards war-power ritual we gathered only a few details, mostly from Al Chandler regarding his adoptive father, Little Man, and from Garter Snake regarding her father, Bull Lodge. 778 721

Little Man got from his brother who was killed in battle the latter's war medicine. The brother's power objects were: the dried skin of a sparrow hawk [Flaco Sparverius] with the head, claws and feathers; a shirt, tailored like an ordinary shirt, but kept painted yellow all the time and with "little holes all over it even on the sleeves and with hawk feathers on the shoulders and some on the back." The yellow paint and holes presumably symbolized the predominant rufous and buff coloring and spotted belly and sides of this fast flier. When the brother went to war, he would put this dried hawk skin on his back, and take a "little fuzzy feather" from the wing and tie it on his horse's tail, and the power

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

778 would make his horse go so fast that no other horse could catch up with it. Little Man himself did not go out war-raiding, but
● 721 once when he and some of his people while on a journey were waylaid by Piegans, he used the hawk medicine as his brother had done, and in the fight no Gros Ventre casualties occurred but three Piegan were killed. In later days, Little Man put a feather
[525] from this hawk on the horse Smokey, an entrant in the two-mile and mile races at the Fair, and the horse came in first in both races within less than an hour, while Little Man won $75.00.

Al Chandler added that "every man's war medicine was different" but gave no further details.

Garter Snake told the following story of Bull Lodge's power in the war-wealth field. "Otter Robe, his son, once came in, there being a lot of young men in there, and said to his father: 'Father, we are going out on a war party and we want to steal horses from the enemy. Could you help us so the enemy will not be able to see us and we will have luck to get these horses?' Bull Lodge replied: 'All right. I will try to see if I can. If I can I will tell you.' So he told his wife: 'Get that wooden bowl and that colt hide [objects he used in his practice]'. He smudged them four times, then set the bowl down and covered it with the colt hide, and they put out the fire. I was sitting there beside my mother. . . . When my father got through, we heard nicks and neighs of horses in that bowl. We did not see anything [any horses] but only heard them, and Bull Lodge said to his son: 'You are going to be lucky. You will get the horses.' Then he removed the colt hide and there [in the bowl] was horse manure. This he took and gave to Otter Robe and said: 'Take and dry this. And when you go out [on the raid] and get to the enemy's camp, make a smudge of a certain thing, take the manure, pulverize it, and sprinkle the powder all around the smudge. If you do this and go into that camp, the enemy are not going to see you. You can steal all the horses you want. And after you leave with the horses, there will be a big fog in that camp, so that the enemy cannot see you or follow you.' And that is what happened. The raiders got horses and brought them home, and the fog protected them."

778 Gambling power was gotten only for use in the old two-button
525 hand games. So far as our evidence goes, the possessor could use